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ABSTRACT

Efforts of immigrant and minority youth to make the school-to-work transition successfully are adversely affected by social, psychological, cultural, familial, and individual factors. Complicating their struggle to attain a sense of competence and personal identity, which is common to all youth, are "outsider status," language problems, and cultural misunderstandings. Social factors that affect their successful transition are the degree of the society's egalitarianism, cultural pluralism, racism, sexism, and class stratification. Also significant are the society's attitudes toward youth, political stability, governmental structure, legal system, rate of economic growth, and employment structure. Social institutions, especially schools, can help students make the transition. Preschool programs provide support that pays off in the early working years. The quality of primary, secondary, and vocational education is especially significant for immigrant and minority youth. Educational issues surrounding these populations include the provision of bilingual instruction, including vocational education in a second language, instruction based on individual learning styles, multicultural curricula, culture-fair testing and assessment procedures, integrated schools, comprehensive educational programs, and nonstereotypic treatment. Programs to prepare youth for work must deal with basic skills, occupational skills, and occupational information. Work experience programs, on-the-job training programs, "second chance" programs, and employment services are also needed. (YLB)

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Information Series No. 257

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR IMMIGRANT AND MINORITY YOUTH

written by

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FOREWORD

Vocational Education for Immigrant and Minority Youth illuminates the unique problems encountered by these young people as they attempt to make the transition from school to work. Background factors are explored, educational issues are discussed, and the special needs of these populations in relation to their preparation for work are described.

This paper is one of ten interpretive papers produced during the fifth year of the National Center's knowledge transformation program. The review and synthesis in each topic area is intended to communicate knowledge and suggest applications. Papers in the series should be of interest to all vocational educators including teachers, administrators, federal agency personnel, and researchers.

The profession is indebted to Peggy Reubens of Conservation of Human Resources for her scholarship in preparing this paper. Ms. Reubens has recently completed a study of secondary programs preparing youth for high technology occupations. Dr. Wynette Barnard of the University of Illinois, Connie Gipson of the California Department of Education, Dr. Martha Mehallis of Broward Community College, Dr. James Pershing of Indiana University, and Dr. Robert Bhaerman and Dr. Carol Minugh of the National Center for Research in Vocational Education contributed to the development of the paper through their critical review of the manuscript. Staff on the project included Joan Blank, Dr. Judith Samuelson, and Dr. Jay Smink. Claire Brooks and Ruth Nunley typed the manuscript, and Janet Ray served as word processor operator. Editorial assistance was provided by Catherine C. King-Fitch of the Field Services staff.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The problems of young people in making the transition from school to work successfully in industrialized countries and the difficulties faced by those countries in adequately preparing their youth for work have received a great deal of attention recently. Relatively little notice is paid, however, to the social, psychological, cultural, familial, and individual factors that tend to affect adversely the efforts of immigrant and minority youth to make the school-to-work transition successfully.

The extent to which youth attain a sense of competence and personal identity affects their success in vocational education and their occupational commitment. For many immigrant and minority youth, this struggle is intensified by factors that are not experienced by most youth of the majority culture—that is, "outsider" status, language problems, and cultural misunderstandings. Female youth have special problems related to sex-role stereotyping.

Factors in the society in which immigrant and minority youth live also affect the extent to which they are successful in making the transition from school to work. Important are the degree of the society's (1) egalitarianism, (2) cultural pluralism, (3) racism, (4) sexism, and (5) class stratification. Also significant are the society's (1) attitudes toward youth in general, (2) political stability, (3) governmental structure, (4) legal system, (5) rate of economic growth, and (6) employment structure.

As societies develop attitudes toward immigrant and minority groups, they choose among (1) assimilation, (2) ethnic pluralism (segregated or integrated), and (3) multiculturalism. It is difficult for the dominant culture in any country to surrender its dominance by according full status to immigrants and minorities through either integrated ethnic pluralism or genuine multiculturalism.

Because these problems exist in most industrialized countries, immigrant and minority youth need the services of various social institutions as they mature and get ready to make the transition from school to work. Preschool programs such as Head Start have resulted in lasting positive effects for immigrant and minority children, including benefits realized in the early working years.

The quality of educational and vocational programming is especially significant for immigrant and minority youth. In fact, excellent special programs for immigrant and minority youth may have negligible effects if serious defects, limitations, or inequalities exist in the educational system.

Educational issues surrounding these populations include the provision of bilingual instruction, including vocational education in a second language (VESL), instruction based on individual learning styles, multicultural curricula, culture-fair testing and assessment procedures, integrated schools, comprehensive educational programs, and nonstereotypic treatment. Effective schools are needed to implement such programs—that is, schools where the following elements are present:

- Strong administrative leadership with a balance between managerial and instructional skills
- High teacher and staff expectations for students
- Staff consensus on goals and norms
- Accessibility of teachers to students
- The provision of positive feedback to students by teachers
- An emphasis on reading skills under a plan to achieve competence
- A pleasant "climate"

Programs to prepare immigrant and minority youth for work must deal with basic skills, occupational skills, and occupational information. Such programs as work experience programs, on-the-job training programs, and "second chance" programs are needed to meet the needs of these populations. Employment services are needed to support the efforts of these programs.

INTRODUCTION

The problems of young people in adjusting to the requirements of the work world in industrialized countries and the difficulties faced by those countries in adequately preparing young people for work have figured prominently in recent national and international policy meetings on youth. Discussions in such meetings frequently recognize that immigrant and minority youth enter a less favorable labor market situation than youth of the majority group.

Little attention is paid, however, to the social, psychological, cultural, familial, and individual factors that may adversely affect immigrant and minority youth. These factors impede the transition of these youth from their own community to school, produce conflicts between the two environments, undermine the effects of vocational education, and intensify difficulties in the transition of these youth from school to work.

Youth everywhere struggle to attain a sense of competence and personal identity (Erikson 1963). The degree to which these are attained strongly relates to success in vocational education, the transition from school to work, and occupational commitment, since

> severe identity confusion is regularly accompanied by an acute upset in the sense of workmanship, either in the form of an inability to concentrate on required or suggested tasks or in a self-destructive preoccupation with some one-sided activity. (Erikson 1968, pp. 170-171)

Actual "work paralysis" among immigrant and minority youth results from "a disbelief in the possibility that they could ever complete anything of value," which, in turn, springs from "belonging to a social class that does not partake of the stream of progress" (Erikson 1968, pp. 184-185). Females in this group are particularly likely to display this reaction (Firestone 1970).

For many immigrant and minority youth, this struggle may be intensified by factors that are not experienced by majority youth. Alone and in concert, such factors as (1) status as an "outsider," (2) cultural characteristics, (3) language differences, (4) subordinate status, and (5) feelings of uprootedness, tend to impair the ability of immigrant and minority youth to accomplish successfully the transition from school to work. Moreover, the situation may be worsened because educators and employers misperceive or mislabel the differences displayed by this group as deficits, seriously underestimating the potential of these youth in school and on the job. Therefore, an understanding of the special circumstances of these groups is important in that it can lead to alternatives to current methods and programs used in vocational education.

Whereas the differentiation of immigrant and minority youth from majority youth is the focus of this discussion, a distinction between males and females within the immigrant or minority group is also of critical importance. Differences exist with respect to the unique responses of males and females to their experiences. Immigrant and minority females often face a double disadvantage because industrialized societies are largely controlled by men who are members of the cultural majority (Davis 1981). At the same time, immigrant and minority women are subordinated to majority-group women (Ehrenreich and English 1973; Joseph and Lewis 1981).

Variations within and among the minority groups in (1) occupational level, (2) socioeconomic status, (3) educational level, and (4) degree of urbanization, also must be considered. Problems most often occur in those minority groups whose relative status in regard to these factors is negative.

Youth who are identified as part of an "underclass" (lower class) are fairly certain to constitute a hard-core problem group, who are on the periphery of the work world, or outside of it, in the irregular or "underground" economy. These youth are usually described as those who are (1) locked into poverty; (2) come from broken homes; (3) depend on government income transfer programs; and (4) are disproportionately involved in drugs, street crime, antisocial behavior, and early pregnancies. They may or may not be members of a cultural minority.

Individual differences also exist, even within the most deprived groups. Some persons possess talents or abilities that are highly prized in society or have character traits enabling them to overcome obstacles. The achievements of such individuals from minority groups may lead to the view that minority status involves no real handicaps. In truth, it is the accomplishments of the few exceptional individuals that confirm the hardships of the larger number.

Background Factors

The term *minority youth* has been used to span two distinct groups, native and immigrant youth. These groups share many experiences, but they are different in important ways. Subgroups found among immigrant and minority youth are identified in the following discussion, based on racial, historical, linguistic, and political characteristics.

Immigrant and Minority Subgroups

Native. Native minority youth are those from groups long resident in the geographical area. This subgroup can be further divided as follows:

- **Indigenous.** These youth are of different race, culture, language, religion, and so forth from the cultural majority and often live in remote or isolated areas (e.g., Maoris in New Zealand; aborigines in Australia; Indians and Eskimos in Canada and the United States; Lapps in Norway, Sweden, and Finland; and Ainus in Japan).

- **Historically transported minorities, different race.** An example of this subgroup is black Americans.

- **Historically migrated linguistic minorities, same race.** Examples of this subgroup include French Canadians, Koreans in Japan, and Basques in Spain.

Recent immigrants. Three main divisions of this subgroup can be distinguished by age, but the divisions are approximate.

- Youth entering from another country between the ages of sixteen and twenty, with or without parents, comprise one subgroup.

- A second group is made up of youth brought into the country between the ages of five or six and sixteen by immigrant parents.

- Youth born in the host country or brought into it before school age by immigrant parents make up a third group.

Further subdivisions, including the following, affect each of these three groups:

— **Same race, same language.** An example of this group is British youth living in Australia.

— **Same race, different language.** Examples of this type of group include Yugoslavs in Germany, Portuguese in France, and Greeks in Australia.

— **Different race, same citizenship.** Examples of this type of group include Asians and West Indians in Great Britain, Algerians in France, Indonesians in the Netherlands, and Belgian Congolese in Belgium.

— **Different race, different citizenship.** Examples of this type of group include Africans in Italy, Asians in Canada, and Vietnamese in the United States.

Recent immigrants also may be subdivided according to the following criteria:

- Whether they have come to this country primarily as refugees or for economic opportunity
- Whether they plan to reside in this country temporarily or permanently
- Whether they are documented or undocumented aliens
- Whether they are from an urban or rural background

Social Context

Societies vary in a number of ways that affect the preparation for and entry into work of immigrant and minority youth. Among the most important factors are the degree of the society's (1) egalitarianism, (2) cultural pluralism, (3) racism, (4) sexism, and (5) class stratification. Also significant are the society's (1) attitudes toward youth in general, (2) political stability, (3) governmental structure, (4) type of legal system and procedures, (5) rate of economic growth, and (6) employment structure (Arce 1981; Gordon 1964). Because of these variations, identical types of immigrant and minority youth will fare differently and exhibit diverse reactions in different nations and at various times in the same nation.

History and geography determine whether a given country has native minority populations. Countries vary greatly in the character and dimensions of this situation. However, current national policies on immigration determine the number and type of immigrant youth who reside in a country. Economic expansion offers a favorable climate for immigration, whereas economic downturns tend to create a less hospitable atmosphere for immigrants ("Foreign Workers" 1982; Reubens, Harrisson, and Rupp 1981).

Apart from cross-national variations in the size of the groups, nations differ in their attitudes toward minorities and immigrants. The following three alternating and coexisting approaches toward minority groups, both native and immigrant, are observed:

- Openly prejudicial attitudes and practices (including scapegoating, the worst extreme)

- "Melting pot" attitudes—that is, denial of differences
- An attempted acceptance of racial-ethnic distinctiveness, racial-ethnic pride, and racial-ethnic consciousness

If it is true that every contemporary society requires a scapegoat (Goffman 1963), then the most crucial variable for minority youth may be whether they belong to a group currently serving that purpose in a particular nation or region (Flores, Attinasi, and Pedraza 1981; "Foreign Workers" 1982).

Other cross-national variables affecting the minority youth experience include the interactions among race, class, and ethnicity and the importance a given society attaches to each. Additionally, variation exists in the interpretation of the democratic ideals espoused by all the industrialized societies. Severe youth adjustment problems are anticipated in countries that profess, but do not practice, the protective definition of democracy.

Host societies range along a segregationist-integrationist spectrum of attitudes toward minorities, and these host attitudes interact with the immigrant-minority range of attitudes from integration to the "outlander" position (Eisenstadt 1954). Society's attitude often outweighs minority attitudes in determining the outcome of the interaction. As a result, "castelike minorities" and an underclass have been discerned in a number of nations (Ogbu 1978; Auletta 1981).

Psychology of Minority Status

Many immigrant and minority youth face identity problems as well as pressures arising from cultural or language differences. In addition, each group faces distinctive psychological hazards. These are discussed separately in the following sections.

Identity problems. Group identity is crucial in the formation of individual identity, but immigrant and minority-group identity may falter under extreme pressure from the cultural majority (Erikson 1968; Teper 1977). Moreover, individual identity confusion—that is, feelings of concern about who one is and where one belongs—can occur among immigrant youth if the host society permits significant degrees of integration. Concern about the tension of living between two worlds is an often reported reaction. The immigrant youth suffering least often from this confusion include those in political refugee families who intend to assimilate fully into the majority culture, and those young temporary workers who intend to return home.

For many youth, especially dark-skinned native minorities, the hallmark experience is one of "otherness." These youth belong to groups who serve as the symbolic "other" against which the majority culture defines itself in opposition (Goffman 1963). The stigma attached to this social position informs minority youth early in life that they play a negative role for the larger society (Szasz 1970).

The identity of immigrant and minority youth is further damaged by the experiences of social and economic discrimination, relative social powerlessness, and extreme poverty. Subsequently, "the stigma of class may be interwoven with (or indeed have created) a stigma of group identity" (Teper 1977, p. 44), to which are often added early ego injuries due to being of the "wrong" color or having "bad" speech.

Reactions to these social injuries include various combinations of the following phenomena: depression, distrust, paranoia, rage, guilt, shame, self-hate, suspicion, and self-doubt, as well as internalized anger with its physiological consequences, and acts committed with suicidal intent. Results of the social powerlessness experienced by minority youth may include fear of success, insecurity, anxiety, hopelessness, suppression of initiative, deprivation, poor performance, lack of assertiveness, projection of feelings onto other people, avoidance, and counter attack. Female minority youths receiving public assistance in the United States are in a particularly dependent and powerless position. Many experience feelings of submission, intimidation, apathy, and helplessness in addition to those previously discussed. Along with underclass status, these psychological problems are accompanied by an overload of life crises, many disappointments, and few immediate models of organized behavior. All of these stresses predispose underclass minority youths to behaviors that lead to their being labeled "unemployable."

As the integration of immigrant and minority groups into society proceeds over generations, some of the psychological injuries that have become a part of group consciousness are gradually lessened, and many immigrant and minority youth are able to combat negative self-concepts by drawing upon reserves of strength. These assets include group identity and pride, strong family ties, positive community role models, humor, tolerance for conflict and contradictions, sophisticated observation skills, healthy skepticism, spiritual belief, and transformation of anger into a drive to achieve. In some groups, coping skills, traditions, and "thick skin" have developed over centuries of "outsider" status.

Communications conflicts. Individuals in the majority culture often misperceive immigrant and minority cultural qualities. Some cultural differences are simply overlooked; others are noted by such individuals as teachers and employers but are either stereotypically overgeneralized to an entire group or else interpreted negatively. Persons in positions of authority in the majority culture may fail to perceive culturally conditioned modes of communication among immigrant and minority youth.

In general, however, immigrant and minority cultures socialize their youth distinctively in the areas of emotional expressiveness, assertiveness, cognitive styles, and sex roles. This is especially true of rural cultures. Minority languages contain untranslatable idioms and sometimes lack words to express certain concepts common to the language of the cultural majority.

For immigrants, problems are compounded if they must learn a language new to them. Those immigrants whose instruction in their native language was inadequate or who speak regional dialects have additional difficulty learning a second language. The least handicapped in language may be immigrants from former colonies of the country in which they are making their new home where they had already learned the national language—although some in this category may speak a dialect sufficiently different from that language to hinder achievement in school.

The perceived necessity to learn a language different from their native language in order to succeed in education and employment runs counter to pressures to retain facility in the language of origin. This language facility is key to maintaining individual, group, and religious identities, and sometimes even family cohesion among immigrants (Anwar 1981; Flores, Attinasi, and Pedraza 1981). The desire to retain their native language, culture, and religion also exists among native minorities (Sotomayor 1977).

Negative self-images. Contemporary native minority youth may still exhibit behavior characteristic of the negative self-images that are a part of their group consciousness; these are a result of the ego damage suffered long ago by their annexed or conquered forebears.

Conquest or forced migration often results in a loss of meaningful work, poverty, and cycles of failure, causing social disorganization and individual psychological damage among the individuals affected.

It has been argued that many native minority youth, because of segregation into a castelike group, exhibit the sort of performance in school and the work place that "is an adaptation to the requirements of their social and occupational positions in society" (Ogbu 1978, p. 237). Minority youth's own perceptions of a "job ceiling" fosters disinterest in learning skills for jobs located above that perceived limit on their aspirations.

Through centuries of powerlessness, and in fear of negative reactions by members of the cultural majority to either assertion or achievement, native minority-group members have tended to internalize the negative group image of them held by the cultural majority. Energy and talent are suppressed or hidden. At the extreme, some native minority youth suffer from the following syndrome, or some portion thereof:

> Conquered peoples, and especially those who have experienced a brutal conquest, tend to isolate themselves from their conquerors, spatially when possible, and inwardly psychologically almost universally. They tend to develop styles of behavior which cause them to often be categorized as apathetic, withdrawn, irresponsible, shy, lazy and helpless in terms of managing their own affairs. Alcoholism and excessive personalistic factionalism seem to typify such defeated, powerless populations, and individuals exhibit signs of possessing serious inferiority complexes and a weak or negative sense of personal identity. (Charles 1969, p. 2)

Disconnectedness. Immigration is usually a wrenching experience. It involves the loss of important external objects, including familiar people and social companions, as well as aspects of the inanimate environment, such as village, topography, and climate. Consequences of these losses include depression, various degrees of personal disorganization, and nostalgia, sometimes involving clinging to the "myth of the return" (Zwingmann 1973). This is accentuated for today's "new immigrants" by air travel and contiguous border crossings.

The difficulties of uprooting particularly plague those older youth who arrive in the host country after the age of school entry; however, some second, and even third generation, immigrant youth may experience problems. Native minority youth who migrate within the country and immigrant youth from rural or traditional communities are particularly subject to stress because they "have difficulty maintaining traditional world views, work skills and patterns of social interaction in the post-industrial urban community" (Danna 1980, p. 1).

Many immigrants intend to remain in the host country for a limited time. Temporary or migrant workers in the United States are especially ambivalent toward American society because they do not intend to put down roots and, simultaneously, they fear never being able to return home again. Undocumented immigrants and their children face additional stresses and fears. Immigrants coming from colonies or territories combine a history of subordination with a sense of uprootedness (Reubens 1979). Such immigrant youth may arrive with, or acquire, an attitude of inferiority and feelings of resentment against the host country.

Immigrant youth from countries with a different form of social organization than that of the host country face a difficult adaptation to the greater individualism and lack of supervision and support that characterize many societies, particularly the United States. Those immigrants with prior work histories in their home nations usually suffer occupational status dislocation. This may affect female immigrants even more than males. Female youth may lose high-status positions previously held in agrarian societies, for example.

Yet some immigrant youth are happy to be earning more money than they would have in their home country, or are reassured by receiving social welfare benefits not available there (Cornelisen 1980). However, immigrant youth brought to this country at a young age (or born here) tend to expect that their residence or citizenship status will guarantee them better treatment and opportunity than that afforded others. They therefore resent being confined to low-status work. Young female immigrant workers struggle, in addition, with value conflicts related to female roles and behaviors, although cross-cultural variations exist in the severity of these conflicts.

Effects. Despite this array of migration-related stresses, these groups do not appear to suffer major mental or emotional breakdowns more frequently than do similar groups of individuals in host populations. There is evidence, however, of a great many reactions that may affect full employability. Occupationally related effects of immigrant or minority status may include (1) decreased productivity, (2) increased absenteeism (due to translating emotional conflicts into illnesses), and (3) increased rates of industrial accidents (due to mental preoccupation). While the socialization of female workers may allow them to show their feelings, male workers may be forced to cope through other means, such as alcohol, drugs, or "absentmindedness." Alternatively, the feelings of males may be manifested in work place disputes or seemingly unprovoked outbursts.

Family and Community: Strengths and Strains

Immigrant and minority youth obtain support from their families and communities. Problems are created by these groupings, however. Families are the primary transmitters of culture. Because "family lifestyles differ from one ethnic group to another even when class is held constant" (Levine 1976, p. 7), the adjustment potential of native minority and immigrant youth begins in the family.

Extended families. Although the word "family" usually connotes the nuclear unit of parents and children, the family in immigrant and minority groups usually includes the extended kinship network. This tends to vary with social class, however (Hill 1971; Anwar 1981). These networks, whether patriarchal (male-dominated) or matriarchal (female-dominated), are characterized by strong bonds of obligation and exchange. They also provide a rich source of role models—that is, surrogate parents and natural, foster, or adoptive child care systems, including the involvement of divorced or unmarried fathers with their children.

Through migration or immigration, community contexts may be lost, and a number of kinship networks may be damaged. Migration and urbanization also tend to undermine established unitary family structures, because the transition to urban industrial living "brings a shift toward more democratic relationships and early independence training" (Danna 1980, p. 8). Immigrant families may misunderstand or disapprove of their children's schools in the areas of discipline, dress, and teaching standards, all of which seem more lax than those in the parents' homelands.

Youth socialized in extended families may be repelled by the impersonal bureaucracy that exists in schools, ancillary services, or the work world, because these young people are accustomed to firm but personal authority. At the same time, school authorities may misunderstand families in which individual ego boundaries are less sharply drawn than in the majority culture.

Families in which the male head of the family immigrates in advance of the rest of the unit have special problems after reuniting. Parental authority is difficult to reestablish. Authority is also undermined by night-shift work or by both parents working without adequate provisions for child care. Consequences for children often include low self-esteem, truancy, and inattention to homework.

The immigrant family is subject to stress and conflict between youth and parents and, often, a gap between spouses (Reubens 1979). The patriarchal family tradition and exercise of authority are questioned by immigrant and minority youth, both male and female. At the same time, many of these youth continue to find traditional sex-role divisions within families to be meaningful to them (Anwar 1981).

Where extended family networks are present and active, single-parent families may serve minority youth adequately (Hill 1971). There is evidence, however, that when poverty and early childbearing are coupled with single parenting, poverty is perpetuated, even resulting in the formation of a distinct underclass. Narrowly defined female roles, combined with the attitudes of rural cultures favoring large families, may result in early and protracted childbearing. Large families also result from lack of economic incentive to restrict family size and, sometimes, from the low self-esteem and inner emptiness experienced by poor or underclass young minority women.

Socialization. Socialization of youth in immigrant and minority families is affected as well by low socioeconomic status (SES), which generally seems to produce youth of lower capacity to meet the demands of schools and work places. However, differences exist across and within the low SES stratum of minority groups. Cognitive skill development of these youth seems most closely related to their mothers' educational levels. Additionally, family emotional style and family size seem to offset somewhat the hazards of low SES.

The "culture of poverty" thesis may apply to the underclass portion of poor minority youth. This concept involves the notion that poverty begets itself, resulting in successive generations of poor families. It is a mistake to confuse other immigrant and minority group values, such as authority, loyalty, self-denial, and sharing, with the culture of poverty (Levine 1976; Valentine 1971). Whereas these values often exist in poverty-stricken families, poverty is not a direct result of holding such beliefs.

According to Ogbu (1978), some long-oppressed minority cultures have also developed "adaptive socialization" practices:

> Restricted to menial and low-level social and technoeconomic roles for generations . . . members of caste minorities develop values, attitudes, and skills compatible with the demands of their position in society. (Ogbu 1978, p. 351)

At all SES levels and in each minority culture, minority youth have a common task. This is the demanding process of self-differentiation from both the old and the new. A molding of elements into a personal identity is mediated by the usual developmental process of separation from the family of origin. Relative speed of differentiation for each sex varies among ethnic groups.

The communities in which immigrant and minority youth live and are socialized vary in physical size, continuity, solidity of support networks, and gender roles. Isolation, homogeneity, rurality, and tradition characterize some native minority communities, whereas individuals have migrated to cities and are acculturating to varying degrees. In traditional immigrant and minority

groups, youth are socialized by the community as well as by the family. Community members take responsibility for social control as well as serving as sources of specialized skills or substitutes for weak, ill, or absent family members. Youth often wish to escape the close scrutiny of such communities, but then they forfeit the support and emotionally charged motivation that is lacking in social institutions.

Over time, communities, like individuals, are subject to varying degrees of assimilation, mediated by many factors. These include recency of immigration, race, class, size of community, and degree of prejudice encountered. Youth may feel torn between clinging to their traditional community (which enforces the use of the native language) and exploring the wider culture.

Housing. A tendency exists among immigrant and minority families to live in socially separate enclaves or ghettos. Social and economic pressure lead to this concentration in housing; however, the desire to be close to other families of the same origin and to have accessible community facilities and religious institutions is also a factor.

Immigrant and minority families often occupy substandard housing, and their children attend substandard schools isolated from children of the cultural majority group. Other neighborhoods are comprised of low SES native minorities, immigrants, or both of these groups along with low SES members of the cultural majority, whose youth may offer models of antisocial behavior and attitudes and may, in addition, scapegoat immigrant and minority youth.

Institutional support. Minority communities vary in the degree and types of institutional support offered to their youth, depending on the size and history of the community. But almost everywhere, ethnic, immigrant, and native minority groups have maintained organizations to protect and advance their political, civil, social, and economic interests and rights. Ethnic religious institutions and special denominational churches play a particularly strong supportive role, foster language continuity, and often are established on the basis of relatively small numbers.

Support systems without kinship bases tend to emerge in immigrant and minority communities, including informal child care networks and mutual support systems among females. The positive function of such networks that exist among the males in these communities is often underestimated.

RESPONSE OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

As societies develop attitudes toward immigrant and minority groups, they choose among (1) assimilation, (2) ethnic pluralism (whether it be integrated or segregated), and (3) multiculturalism (Newman 1977). Though legislation related to immigrants and minorities is enacted in response to political, social, and economic changes, the actual situation may remain relatively fixed and even be in conflict with the law. A mix of policies and practices, rather than a clear-cut position, may be most characteristic. Host societies newer to the reception of immigrants seem less drawn to the mythology of the "melting pot," but it has been difficult for the dominant culture in any country to surrender its dominance by according full status to immigrants and minorities through either integrated ethnic pluralism or genuine multiculturalism.

Because these attitudes exist in most industrialized countries, immigrant and minority youth require the services of various institutions as they mature and get ready to enter the world of work. Agencies, especially schools, may operate either as effective "culture brokers" (Wyatt 1978) or as "an alien culture upon a subject people" (Frideres 1978). Even effective "brokering" efforts may be insufficient to meet the challenge of immigrant or minority status, especially in combination with an underclass social position.

Preschool

Early childhood programs can provide support to immigrant and minority youth in their early years that pays off in the early working years. A recent evaluation revealed that lasting benefits are realized from Head Start and other American preschool programs (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1979). The rate of failure in school and the need for remedial education was lower for youth who had participated in Head Start programs than for peers who had not participated. Participants were also found to score higher on IQ tests at the age of six, to perform better in mathematics in fourth grade, and to demonstrate greater self-esteem (ibid.).

Other assessments of such United States programs have noted that school performance improved most when intervention programs began early, continued into the elementary school period (at least to age seven), involved parents deeply, included wide-ranging social and health services, and were under the control of the local community (Bronfenbrenner 1975; A. Wilson 1978).

British preschool programs for inner-city children (e.g., Education Priority Area Projects), using concepts of compensatory and complementary education, also recommend "positive discrimination" in preschooling, a disputed idea in Britain (Halsey 1980). Researchers concluded that

> a pre-school programme, properly devised, can be a most economical investment for a government wishing to save money on schools. And for a government determined to relieve the handicaps of those who come from poor families, a pre-school programme . . . can compensate for society. (Halsey 1980, p. 173)

Integrated preschool programs bring early contacts with other groups and are desirable since children will later enter integrated schools (Rodriguez 1973). In addition, program content should make the children aware of the cultures of others as well as their own.

Social services unavailable through the preschools or schools may be needed in addition for immigrant and minority youths' effective completion of education and preparation for work. Social service agencies and childhood programs can deal with migration-related disorientation, disempowerment, acculturation conflicts, identity diffusion, language difficulties, and faltering support systems. Agencies counsel families about such problems as emotional conflicts between older and younger members, self role conflicts, and substance abuse. Such problems are intensified when social service providers who are not members of the same cultural minority as their clients misunderstand, "pathologize," or give up on minority clients (Kitano 1970; Cross 1978).

In addition, social agencies serve immigrant and minority children who are having difficulty adjusting to the majority culture of schools; they and their families may suffer stresses related to poverty and/or migration from the time the children are small. These agencies also aid preschool immigrant and minority children who often cannot cope with the stress occasioned by (1) having two working parents, (2) being isolated from majority-group peers, (3) having limited language skills, (4) being weak in the cognitive skills demanded in schools, and (5) being unfamiliar with attitudes and sex-role expectations of the cultural majority.

The children of poor immigrant and minority teenage mothers need specialized daycare programs. Employment and training programs for the young mothers are needed in conjunction with these programs (U.S. Department of Labor 1977; Wallace 1979).

Primary, Secondary, and Vocational Education

Given the influence of education on the position of individuals in the occupational structure and social system of industrialized countries, recognition of the special educational needs of minority and immigrant youth, especially those of low SES, is a crucial element in the social response. As a British observer has written,

> Nearly everyone now accepts that children from ethnic minorities have special needs, and that treating them exactly the same as indigenous white children is not good enough. (Some black community groups would probably argue that the built-in racism of the system prevents this from happening anyway.) ("Black is Ripe" 1981)

The quality of the general and vocational education available to all youth is especially significant for immigrant and minority youth. Efforts to improve such features as (1) class size, (2) individualized instruction, including remedial work, (3) the competency and retraining of teachers, and (4) facilities and equipment can benefit immigrant and minority pupils as much as programs specially designed for these populations. Indeed, excellent special programs for immigrant and minority youth may have negligible effects if serious defects, limitations, or inequalities exist in the educational system, as many writers allege (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Kirp 1979; Maizels 1970; "Inequality" 1975; Ogbu 1978; Reubens, 1977; Tyack 1974; U.S. Department of Labor 1977).

In the course of attempting to meet the educational and vocational needs of immigrant and minority youth, society and educational authorities confront a complex situation in which (1) rhetoric usually is in advance of practice and (2) clear-cut policies are not always forthcoming.

An uneven distribution across the nation of minority and immigrant children and varied mixes of minority groups in the many educational districts further complicate the formulation and execution of national educational policy.

When educational program initiation and administration is left entirely to local areas, uneven programming may result. Schools enrolling relatively few immigrant or minority pupils may have little experience in working with these youth and few resources to deal with their special needs, leading to the neglect of such youth. A related situation may arise in which schools enrolling large numbers of immigrant and/or minority youth are seen as neglecting the special needs of their few students representative of the majority group (Schools Council 1981).

Educational Issues

Although immigrant and minority youth have some of the same difficulties with schooling that are typical of low SES majority-group youth, other issues in education are peculiar to immigrant and minority youth or arise because of their special circumstances. In addition, there are repercussions on and interactions with youth and with the entire curriculum and examination system of schools. Among the important educational issues for immigrant and minority youth are attitudes of teachers, teacher organizations, teacher training institutions, and school administrators. Also pivotal are such factors as language instruction, underachievement, individual learning styles, curriculum, tests, the organization and procedures of schools, and the training of teachers and administrators. In addition, attention must be given to the relationships between school, home, and community, and the role of youth. These variables are discussed in the following sections.

Language

The provision of fluency in the primary language of the society is a major goal of the educational system as it attempts to educate immigrant and minority youth. The difficulty in achieving the goal varies along several dimensions. Influence is exerted by the age and previous linguistic and educational experience of the children, the racial-ethnic mix of each school, and the size of the community (in smaller communities the language gap is more easily closed than in large cities).

It also is important to consider whether the children actually need to maintain fluency in their native language. Many families move frequently between two countries, as is the case with many Puerto Ricans and Mexicans living in the mainland United States (Cornelisen 1980; Cafferty 1982). Children of immigrants who are determinedly assimilationist and upwardly mobile, come from a middle or high SES, and already have a good command of one or more languages have the fewest problems in acquiring the language of the host society. This group is likely to comprise a small minority of immigrants and minorities in any industrialized nation, however.

Educational policymakers must decide how much attention and how many of the available resources should be devoted to the maintenance of minorities' native languages and cultures. In addition, decisions must be made about whether and how much instruction in these languages and cultures should be offered to majority-group youth. In the United States, the projected growth of the Hispanic youth cohort emphasizes this concern.

Several different strategies are used to develop fluency in the primary language of the host society among youth whose first language or dialect (or whose family's language) is different from that language. Total immersion, in which nothing but the host language is used, is the method of a dedicatedly assimilationist society. In this case, supplementary instruction in the native language (as a second language) is offered to children for a limited time, during which their other subjects are conducted strictly in the host language. Educators in most countries have rejected or abandoned the total immersion approach, after finding that academic lag or failure; fear of school; loss of interest; and high rates of nonenrollment, absenteeism, and early school-leaving result from this approach (Cottle 1976).

Bilingual education is apparently more effective than the total immersion approach. Bilingual education can be subdivided into four types. These four types of strategies are applied to vocational education (Cafferty 1982; Crandall 1982).

- Transitional bilingualism provides instruction in two languages until basic mastery of the host language is achieved.
- In another version, speaking skills in both languages are practiced, but reading and writing are taught in the host language only.
- A more complete bilingualism is one in which both languages are taught fully, but the native language is not used for subject classes (it is used only in such classes as music and physical education).
- Full bilingualism involves equal use of both languages for instruction in all subjects and teaching about both cultures on an equal basis.

Both total immersion and bilingual approaches aim to make the immigrant or minority youth able to function in a single-language school as quickly as possible. These strategies are said to be most effective when children have a great deal of out-of-school exposure to the host language, a situation unlikely to be found among most immigrant and minority youth (as previously discussed family and community characteristics might indicate). Total immersion and many transitional bilingual programs also fail to transmit the language skills required in school, do not provide for more advanced literacy as the children advance in school, and may alienate immigrant and minority children from their parents and their culture (Cornelisen 1980; Rodriguez 1973; Schools Council 1981; Taylor, Meynard, and Rheault 1977).

The provision of extensive bilingual instruction throughout the curriculum (including vocational education classes) combined with cultural maintenance, has been endorsed for immigrant and minority youth. Dialects found among black American youth would be regarded as another language or a special problem (Community Relations Commission 1974a; Commission for Racial Equality 1980; Crandall 1982; Cross 1978; Dillard 1972; Labov 1972; Mack 1977; "Held Back Twice" 1977; "In Black and White" 1981; "Black is Ripe" 1981; Proctor 1982; Rogers 1972; Schools Council 1981; St. John Brooks 1981; Stewart 1970; Wakefield and Bambridge 1974).

Several arguments are advanced for bilingual education and cultural instruction for immigrant and minority youth.

- Children are said to lose less learning time through bilingual instruction than through the immersion approach.

- Children's self-esteem is enhanced by the respect accorded their native language in bilingual approaches (Community Relations Commission 1974b; Conklin 1967; Lambert 1980).

- Parents are reassured that their children will not lose their cultural heritage (Cross 1978).

- Thoroughly learning any one language fosters cognitive structures that enable later assimilation of additional languages (Macedo 1981). (Which language should be learned first is debated both by language specialists and by minority leaders.)

Bilingual instruction in vocational education classes can provide students with the opportunity to learn technical skills in their native language and basic employment vocabulary in the primary language of the host society (Crandall 1982). Bilingual materials for use in training students for new technologies may be lacking, however (Licklider 1982). In addition, problems are created by the fact that many communities that emphasize second-language proficiency tend to resist providing vocational education in a second language (VESL).

Bilingual programs for children may be aided if coordinated language classes in both languages are arranged for their parents and other relatives. These classes can be conducted in schools, community centers, or elsewhere. It is important that the children's instruction and that of their family members be related, however.

In the case of immigrant youth who are beyond the minimum legal school-leaving age when they arrive in the host country, language education is a prerequisite to, or a necessary component of, vocational training or on-the-job training programs (Crandall 1982). Although the educational system may be best equipped to offer such language instruction, the provision of language instruction for young adults by other institutions may be preferable in many cases. Language instruction for this group should be based on (1) the principles of adult education and (2) the conversational method of language instruction.

The general education of individuals must be taken into account, along with regional dialects, and the possibilities of offering simultaneous instruction to those students from related language groups should be considered. Young immigrants speaking regional dialects of such languages as Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese will have difficulty, of course, if bilingual vocational education is presented in the classical forms of their native languages. These students learn more easily from instructors who speak the same dialect as they. It is import for instructors to emphasize vocation-specific English in these classes (Cornelisen 1980; Crandall 1982; Macedo 1981; Rodriguez 1973).

Lengthy programs may be required for some groups, as is evidenced by the frustration of less-educated Cambodians with instruction in Canadian French and the low degree of success in learning German by poorly educated Italian immigrants who have struggled with formalized bilingual instruction in classical Italian. In an area vocational center in Vermont where a substantial number of recently settled refugees from Southeast Asia (seventeen or older) enroll, ESL (English as a second language) teachers are employed in connection with vocational courses. In Colorado, tutoring is provided at area vocational centers for these students.

Individuals who criticize special language classes for nonstandard English speaking minority youth claim that bilingual instruction may weaken the incentive among these youth to learn standard English quickly. They also doubt that such programs have been or will be successful

(Cafferty 1982). It is difficult to generalize about the goal of offering bilingual education and cultural maintenance programs to all immigrant and minority children.

Successful bilingual education programs are reported in New Zealand, Canada, and areas of the United States (Dulay and Burt 1979; Lambert 1980; Mace-Matluck and Dominguez 1981; Ogbu 1978; Tucker 1980). Bilingual vocational education has been successful in the United States with Hispanic, Haitian, and Indochinese groups (Crandall 1982). New York City schools offer vocational instruction in ten languages other than English. Successful implementation of these courses seems to be associated with (1) limiting instruction to youth who speak only or primarily a foreign language and (2) the provision of adequate funding.

Since technical and idiomatic language may not be taught in basic language lessons, language may continue to be a problem. For example, bilingual education has been institutionalized for Maori youth in New Zealand since the nineteenth century (and basic literacy rates are on a par with those of the majority culture), but the test scores and average number of years of school completed are lower for Maori than for majority-group youth (Ogbu 1978). In northern Vermont, language deficits among immigrants have persisted for three generations. In most cases it is reasonable to assume that some residual or even hidden language barriers are involved in the poorer school performance of certain immigrant and minority youth groups (ibid).

Low Achievement and Alternative Learning Styles

Achieving fluency in the primary language of the host society, as important as it is, does not in and of itself ensure that all immigrant and minority youth will reach the average level of academic performance. Even after allowance is made for differences in composition according to such factors as family income, SES, sex, place of residence, and parental education, some immigrant and minority youth groups show a poorer school performance than the majority group or other immigrant or minority groups (Mack 1977; "In Black and White" 1981; "Foreign Workers" 1982; St. John Brooks 1981; Taylor 1981).

Inter-ethnic academic performance, measured by test scores and achievement, is not equalized even when birth or complete schooling has occurred in the host country (Community Relations Commission 1974b). On the other hand, SES variation within groups corresponds with large achievement differentials (Schanberg 1982; National Center for Education Statistics 1982). The "job ceiling" effect is now a "dual caste system" for many Hispanics and black Americans (Carter and Segura 1979; Wilson 1978). In some areas, minority groups are stratified by the recency of their immigration or their use of a foreign language.

Parental backgrounds and educational levels are often cited in explanation of the educational handicap of immigrant and minority youth (Coles 1967; Cornelisen 1980; Danna 1980; "Inequality" 1975; Ogbu 1978; Reubens, Harrisson, and Rupp 1981; Rodriguez 1973; Wilson 1978). Motivational and attitudinal factors on the part of the youth also are indicated (Ogbu 1978; To 1968). Some writers question whether genuine cultural differences explain some antischool attitudes (Coles 1977; La Belle 1976).

West Indian teenagers in Britain seem to be displaying antischool attitudes similar to those that working-class white English youth had to overcome in order to succeed at school (St. John Brooks 1981). In addition, loss of motivation in school results from West Indian youth's realization that their parents hold low level jobs (Community Relations Commission 1974b; Dawson 1978; Ogbu 1978).

Racism is often cited in connection with the almost universal finding that the darkest-skinned youth show the poorest academic performance (Proctor 1982; St. John Brooks 1981). Adverse effects of low teacher expectations on pupil performance and, conversely, positive advances in performance from raised expectations appear to be fairly well established (Carter and Segura 1979; Coles 1967; Edmonds 1979; Hare 1977; Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968). In fact, some black American educators have asserted that, given appropriate teacher expectations, neither curriculum nor teaching methods need to be altered for minority youth (Hare 1977). The Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement (TESA) model developed by Sam Kerman (1979) of the Los Angeles County (California) school system has demonstrated effectiveness in training teachers in communicating positive expectations to all children.

Researchers maintain that an assessment of learning styles reveals distinctive patterns among individuals and among groups. To the extent that individual youth from immigrant or minority groups are identified as having learning styles at variance with the styles demanded by schools, modification of teaching methods may be desirable (Ramirez and Castaneda 1974). It is questionable how much use is actually made of data obtained from cross-cultural cognitive studies in designing instruction. One theory suggests that poor black students are visually and manually (tactile-kinesthetically) rather than verbally inclined (A. Wilson 1978).

Recent research on the majority population suggests that a great many children do not learn well in the traditional, verbal style. A new field known as visual literacy has emerged to meet the needs of these youth, many of whom do not come from minority or poor backgrounds. Because as much as one-half of the population may fall into this category, it cannot be designated a minority-group handicap. In a technocratic, verbal civilization, however, it becomes disabling, and it follows that individual learning styles should be considered in devising curriculum and teaching methods for all students, but particularly for immigrant and minority youth.

Immigrant or minority children of low SES who lack a learning style compatible with traditional group instructional methods will have even fewer resources available to them than most children for succeeding in a traditional school. They will therefore be even less well prepared for work than a member of the middle-class cultural majority. Fortunately, visual and tactile-kinesthetic modes of instruction are well suited to vocational education. Experiential learning programs such as Experience Based Career Education (EBCE), which provide for these learning modes, are also relevant to vocational education. In some schools, vocational education programs designed for special education students have been extended successfully to low achievers from disadvantaged backgrounds. Such programs provide models for the development of programs for immigrant and minority youth.

Other research on learning styles in the general population reveals a broad range of strengths and weaknesses in cognitive profiles of individuals, leading to advocacy of the use of strategies designed to teach students how to learn. Without such an approach, "equality of educational opportunity" may become a meaningless phrase (Letteri 1978). Research (Letteri 1981) shows that the similarity of children's cognitive profiles to those of their mothers diminishes over the school-age years, demonstrating that school has an effect on cognitive style. The importance of instructional methods is underscored by this finding.

Although a varied set of factors has been advanced to explain low academic achievement in some immigrant and minority youth groups, several important questions remain. For example, why do some immigrant groups have greater success in vocational education than comparable native minorities or majority group members? Answers to these questions should to be sought and examined in a cross-cultural context.

In Britain, the lower academic performance of West Indians, whose initial acquaintance with English is generally superior to that of Asians, has occasioned much concern (Community Relations Commission 1974a, 1974b; "In Black and White" 1981; "Black is Ripe" 1981; St. John Brooks 1981; Schools Council 1981a; Taylor 1981). A large number of measures have been proposed by the Schools Council in Great Britain for West Indians to remedy underachievement in relation to their peers. Whereas these suggestions single out West Indians in Britain, they are appropriate to immigrant and minority youth groups in the United States. Many of these recommendations are incorporated into the following discussions of curriculum, tests, school structure and climate, and teacher training.

Curriculum

Multicultural approaches to education have been proposed in many countries. Multiculturalism can be defined as placing equal value on all cultures, throughout the world, in a given country, or in a specified locale. Another version contrasts "black studies" with the permeation of the entire curriculum by multicultural approaches (Schools Council 1981). In its strict definition, multicultural education has not been mandated nationwide in any country.

The multicultural approach to education has been widely implemented in the United States since 1975 by the Teacher Corps. The expansion of this program was recommended by the Carnegie Council (1979). Progress has been made in Australia and Britain toward gaining acceptance for the idea, though implementation is slower than in the United States (Altman and Nieuwenhuysen 1979; Migrant Services and Programs 1978; Schools Council 1981). An Australian group recommended not only that multicultural education be provided, but also that an "Institute of Multiculturalism" be established to design curricula that would create or enhance a multicultural society (Migrant Services and Programs 1978).

While not advocating multicultural education, the Council of Ministers of Social Affairs in the European Communities endorsed cultural pluralism in a directive on the "adaptation of school structures and curricula to meet the specific needs of immigrant children," referring to children of nationals of member countries (Reubens, Harrisson, and Rupp 1981). Response to this directive has been greater in France and the Netherlands than in Germany, where popular opinion thwarts the government's efforts (Crossette 1976; "Foriegn Workers" 1982). In Israel and Taiwan, assimilationist education programs for minorities have failed (Ogbu 1978; To 1968), causing a revision of educational goals to include cultural pluralism. Japan's assimilationist policies also have been ineffective in working with the Ainu and Buraku youth (Ogbu 1978; Peng 1977).

In the United States, the goals of multicultural education resulted in the formulation of the following objectives:

- To overcome racial and ethnic prejudices
- To gain intercultural understanding and harmony
- To gain cross-cultural competency via a process of "multiacculturation" (Banks 1979, p. 248)
- To equalize socioeconomic status among social subgroups

This last aim has been viewed with skepticism by many educators. Some writers in the United States argue in favor of teaching majority youth about (1) other languages and cultures and (2) the rights of immigrant and minority groups (to equal status and power). Such instruction is viewed as a prerequisite to the type of social change necessary to the realization of the rights of immigrant and minority youth (Cheng, Brizendine, and Oakes 1979). A similar goal is evident in Canada:

> To the extent that mainstream [majority] children are sensitized to and educated in another language and culture, the better the chances are of developing a fairer, more equitable society. (Lambert 1980)

Studies of pupils who have experienced such programs show, however, that democratic coexistence calls for more than language competence and cultural knowledge; it calls also for opportunities for all ethnic groups of young people to interact socially on an equal basis (Lambert 1980).

Mutlicultural curricula promote pluralism and combat the negative stereotyping of minorities in textbooks and classrooms that leads immigrant and minority youth to view their ethnic group as deficient (their strengths unrecognized). The "melting pot" generalizations about women that ignore the strong female immigrant role that are found in traditional textbooks are an example of such stereotypes (Seller 1981).

Not only is a multicultural education best for immigrant and minority children, but all children in a pluralistic society need multicultural approaches. Moreover, the attitudes of majority-group children toward multiracial schools (found to be less favorable among members of the majority group than among West Indian immigrant children in a study of British fourteen year olds) might be improved by multicultural education (Dawson 1978). The motivation to introduce a multicultural component into the curriculum is weakest in areas where there are few immigrant or minority children enrolled in the schools (Schools Council 1981).

Where bicultural education is not established as an educational policy, minorities should at least receive sufficient bicultural education to preserve their ethnic identity while they gain competence in the new culture. A recent survey found that the opinions of British headteachers (principals) were divided on this issue (ibid.). The school should build on the strengths of the home culture of immigrant or minority children, especially in the initial years, and utilize "cultural democracy" in learning activities when pupils from many backgrounds are present (Ramirez and Castaneda 1974; Teper 1977; Wakefield and Bainbridge 1974).

The call for "cultural democracy" in the classroom implies, for example, the use of group cooperation instead of individual competition, when competitiveness is the mode used by the majority group (ibid.). At the same time, allowances must be made for varying degrees of acculturation among immigrant and minority youth. Effective "cultural indoctrination" programs require (1) a clear assessment of the degree of student acculturation in each subject area and (2) plans for the most effective ways to increase acculturation. The implementation of programs without the use of such information may predispose the programs to failure.

Clearly, evaluations of bicultural or multicultural education vary according to the criteria used as measures: knowledge, social interaction, and socioeconomic change. In the United States, multicultural education has concentrated (since 1972) on teaching an understanding of one's own and others' ethnic heritage; on teaching tolerance for (the value of) cultural diversity (since 1975); and most recently, on education that is multicultural (the penetration of diverse cultures into every aspect of curriculum content and delivery). Whereas the technical aspects of

vocational education may not be suitable for such penetration, courses can present examples that illustrate the cultural strengths of immigrants and minorities.

Bicultural or multicultural education programs have been least successful when they involved minority youth only, challenged no majority-group assumptions, or lacked social interaction among culturally diverse youth groups. Where multicultural education has not been implemented, "assimilation" schooling has failed to retain some minority students or has produced some who are unable to cope with dual identity and minority status in the larger society (Ogbu 1978; Peng and Geiser 1977; To 1968). Vocational education classrooms can provide a setting where group interaction and resolution of the resulting intergroup tensions occur. Training in group problem-solving strategies, such as the quality circles movement offers, is extremely useful for this purpose.

The education of all children should be designed to neutralize the effects of the traditional emphasis on male roles and activities in such subjects as social studies, and the sex-role biases implicit in many other subjects that accept occupational stereotyping. A thoroughly multicultural education should ensure an equitable representation of both sexes as well as all races (Ewell 1978; Verheyden-Hilliard 1975).

Other curriculum issues in the education of immigrant and minority children, particularly those youth of low SES or from the underclass, concern the pertinence of subject matter to their current circumstances and future prospects, taking into account the socioeconomic structure and the interaction of ethnicity, race, and gender with class. Such an approach may make school more "real" and relevant and decrease truancy and early leaving (Kozol 1972). In vocational education, a realistic appraisal of present occupational stereotyping and segregation must be balanced by the fostering of self-confidence in immigrant and minority students and the encouragement of attempts to overcome obstacles.

Tests

The use of standardized tests, examinations, and other procedures in the schools has, at times, been seen as misleading or discriminatory with regard to the performance of immigrant and minority youth. Standardized tests have received a great deal of attention from critics of education as well as from the advocates of minority groups in the United States. The criticism that tests are culture-bound has been partially met by the creation of second-language or "culture-free" versions, or by competency-based and criterion-referenced tests (*Journal of Negro Education* 1980; Padilla and Garza 1975).

A disturbing aspect of the educational system is the tendency to assign disproportionate numbers of immigrant or minority youth to special classes or schools for mentally retarded or educationally deficient students on the basis of intelligence tests that may not be culture-fair (Carter and Segura 1979; Cottle 1976; Cross 1978; Hendricks 1974; Reubens, Harrisson, and Rupp 1981). On the other hand, the special educational needs of migrant farmworker youth and all secondary school students are underdiagnosed (*Bilingual Education* 1981). All placements of immigrant and minority youth in special education classes should be subject to review by experts who are free to designate reassignment of these students.

Still most widely used of all tests, intelligence (IQ) tests have been described as combining the "rational, abstract, analytic, sequential, linear, graphic Anglo-European cognitive style with the depersonalized, clock-dominated, competitive and conformist American style" (Teper 1977, p. 26). Such tests therefore can provide for only a limited assessment of many skills that may be

important for success at work and in life (Teper 1977). Yet school curricula emphasize the same skills as the IQ tests, leading to the result that IQ tests are validated because success on them "generally predicts success in school" (Teper 1977, p. 26).

In the British educational system, the issues are the elaborate body of external examinations in individual subjects that are taken by sixteen- to eighteen-year-olds and the restrictive impact of preparation for the examinations on the development of curricula relevant to a multiethnic society ("In Black and White" 1981). In a survey by the Schools Council (1981), head teachers (principals) affirmed that minority pupils were disadvantaged by the technical and idiomatic language required, the cultural bias in favor of indigenous pupils, and the dearth of questions referring to a multiethnic society. Intellectual and academic tests and policies need major revisions (Cottle 1976; Cross 1978; Crossette 1976; Teper 1977).

In addition to these types of tests, which have their counterparts in other countries, most countries display some arbitrary or subjective factors in the award of grades and diplomas by their school systems that work to the disadvantage of immigrant and minority youth. In Canada, for example, studies reveal a relationship between grades and language and social class (Lambert 1981). Reviews are needed of classroom grading procedures and the effects of teachers' low expectations of students on grades assigned to those students.

Schools: Structure, Climate, and Procedures

Most immigrant and minority groups are satisfied to have their children attend neighborhood public schools, regardless of the extent of ethnic-racial integration. Each group then decides whether to supplement this schooling by offering special classes to maintain the native language and culture, with or without public financial assistance. However, some immigrant or minority groups prefer separate schools for their children, usually because they do not approve of how the public schools handle such matters as religious instruction, school discipline, coeducation, school meals, and dress (Anwar 1981; "Case for Ethnic" 1982). Faced with German government initiatives to expand bilingual instruction in public schools, for example, Turkish parents in West Berlin organized their own private schools, fearing a loss of cultural control over their children. Other groups, such as some American blacks, enroll their children in parochial or other private schools.

Desegregation. Attempts to desegregate public schools by busing children to schools away from their neighborhoods or by changing the racial balance in schools by reassigning students is widely practiced only in the United States. Busing generally has been rejected elsewhere, as have been other explicit desegregation policies. The boundaries of British school districts are sometimes changed to increase the racial-ethnic mix of pupils, but care is taken to limit the minority population to no more than 30 percent of the total, except where residential patterns make higher percentages inevitable (Community Relations Commission 1974a; Cross 1978; Kirp 1979).

In the United States, the rationale for the adoption of a national desegregation policy is based on the expected academic and psychological benefits for all children, but the primary impetus came from the awareness of the inferiority of the segregated schools attended by minority youth. The effects of twenty years of massive integration efforts have been examined in a large number of studies (Denmark 1970; McPartland 1969; National Institute of Education 1981; "Study Discerns" 1981). In a comprehensive review covering twelve hundred studies, ten court cases, and activities in seventeen cities, it was found that desegregation has had positive effects for all children, but particularly for minority pupils, despite a failure to achieve all that for which advocates had hoped ("Study Discerns" 1981).

Since residual racism existed, along with persistent social and educational barriers, in the schools that were desegregated, some writers have urged that a greater emphasis be placed on legal efforts to desegregate housing and residential areas, a much more difficult task (National Institute of Education 1976). Wider social change is needed before mixed ethnic schools and school reforms can become effective (Rogers 1972; St. John Brooks 1981; Taylor 1981).

A suburbanizing trend among white and middle-class minority families has recreated de facto school segregation in several major United States cities. In some of those cities, as well as in some rural areas, the public school systems are comprised of 70 percent (or more) minority and immigrant populations.

Resources. A concern has arisen about unequal resources in these schools, especially regarding new technology. The distribution of instructional computers among high schools, for example, was found to vary according to the SES of school districts (Faflick 1982; National Center for Education Statistics 1982). Poor school districts (where immigrant and minority youth tend to be disproportionately concentrated) will continue to possess less technologically current equipment. Students in small rural districts located in states with inequitable state school-aid formulas are least likely to have access to current technology (Clouse and Savage 1982).

Educational tracking. Whether or not schools are integrated racially and ethnically, immigrant and minority youth are affected by the extent to which the secondary schools are comprehensive, as in the United States, rather than elitist, as in Germany. Immigrant and minority youth in a comprehensive rather than elitist or "tracked" system are more likely to complete secondary education. They are also likely to constitute a higher proportion of the entrants to institutions of higher education under a comprehensive secondary system. It is therefore important to review the organizational structure of the educational system.

In the United States, comprehensive schools tend to retain more immigrant and minority youth until graduation than do separate vocational schools. Area vocational centers, regional occupational programs, or shared instruction models are alternatives to forced early choice of an educational track, although selection of students must be carefully monitored for discrimination (Carnegie Council 1979). In some area vocational centers, black Americans are overrepresented whereas Chicanos are underrepresented.

Other writers have advocated that all vocational education occur within comprehensive high schools in order to equalize minority participation, enhance basic skills and training though vocational applications, and offer youth opportunities to pursue further education (Barbanel 1980; Carnegie Council 1979; Crosby 1982; Evans 1982). Because advanced education and training are important ingredients in occupational progress, special measures are needed to assist immigrant and minority youth in completing compulsory education and proceed to the next level at the same rate as their contemporaries in the majority culture. Entrance to particular forms of education or training, such as vocational education, apprenticeship, or professional training, may result in failure for many immigrant and minority youth unless (1) augmented efforts are made to prepare them for admission tests and (2) employer discrimination can be offset.

In the United States, provisions of the 1976 Vocational Education Amendments include programs for disadvantaged youth. These programs are in operation, but they cater to academic, not economic, disadvantage (National Institute of Education 1981). In other situations, low-achieving and poorly motivated students are routinely counseled into vocational high schools or particular programs in these schools. These include youth from the majority group as well as disproportionate numbers of immigrant and minority youth. Within vocational education

programs in the United States a tracking system has been detected. Whereas minority males are not underrepresented in vocational education, they, along with low SES students in general, have been found to be overrepresented in vocational education classes that prepare students for low-income and low-status occupations (Oakes 1981).

Sex-role stereotyping. Females acquire less marketable or remunerative skills in vocational education classes than males, and female minorities are overrepresented among vocational education enrollments (National Center for Education Statistics 1981; U.S. Department of Labor 1977). A recent assessment of vocational education in this country observed "a slow but steady decrease in sex stereotyping in vocational education" but noted that this remains "a widespread problem" (National Institute of Education 1981, pp. viii-30).

More concerted efforts seem to be underway to improve racial imbalances in vocational education classes than to adjust the disproportions in enrollments among females (National Institute of Education 1981; Verheyden-Hilliard 1975). The administration and teaching staff of area vocational centers and similar centers are overwhelmingly male, perhaps exceeding the disproportion in education at large (U.S. Department of Labor 1977). This situation, of course, does not provide adequate numbers of role models across all of the occupational service areas for females.

Effective schools. Some positive guidance on effective schools emerges from Britain and the United States. A study was made of twelve Inner London comprehensive secondary schools in which about one-fourth of the pupils were of immigrant background, mostly West Indian (Rutter et al. 1979). Effectiveness of schools was measured by the schools' percentage of success achieved in "O"-level subject exams, usually taken at sixteen to seventeen years of age. By this measure, effective schools were characterized by the following elements:

- High teacher expectations
- Staff consensus on norms and goals
- Accessibility of teachers to students
- The provision of positive feedback to students by teachers

An American summary of research on inner-city elementary schools used standardized test measures (Edmonds 1979). Effective schools were found to have the following elements:

- Strong administrative leadership with a balance between managerial and instructional skills
- An emphasis on reading skills under a plan to achieve competence
- High teacher and staff expectations
- A pleasant climate

Equally matched pairs of schools, taking account of family SES, neighborhood, and other background factors, showed a wide divergence in test scores, leading to the conclusion that "in and of itself, pupil family background neither causes nor precludes elementary school instructional effectiveness" (Edmonds 1979, p. 31). Thus, much of the improvement sought in the education offered to immigrant and minority youth (as in that of all children) is tied to changes in the structure, climate, and procedures of schools.

Training of Teachers and Administrators

No matter how effectively the curriculum and school structure reflect a multicultural society, teachers and administrators can undermine the delivery of multicultural education. These individuals must understand and accept students who are different from the majority culture, the variety of racial and ethnic groups represented, and the resulting special needs of immigrant and minority children.

Teachers often are less than acceptant of immigrant and minority youth. For example, a British study found that white teachers held negative attitudes toward West Indian pupils, including fearing teenage males (because of their large physical size) and rejecting activities among these youth that are accepted among white pupils (St. John Brooks 1981). Patronizing attitudes and low expectations of students by teachers also are cited in many countries as hampering the implementation of multicultural curricula.

Cultural misunderstandings produce poor student performances. For example, teachers who present instructions as though they were choices confuse youngsters who expect direct commands. If the students, as a result, fail to participate in an activity, they may incur disciplinary action (St. John Brooks 1981). Immigrant or minority youth may be accustomed to such behavioral management techniques as silence, pauses, and shifts of conversational gambit, with which teachers are unfamiliar. The teachers' use of confrontation, on the other hand, may irritate youth accustomed to firm but nonconfrontational discipline by their elders.

Good teachers have been identified as more important in overall school ratings than physical plant, school integration, and similar factors (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1966). Therefore, the selection, preparatory training, and inservice training of teachers, support staff, and educational administrators are of prime concern. The selection of policymakers (elected school boards) is also of great concern. Policy support by teachers' unions and other organizations of educators also is significant.

Teachers drawn from the same ethnic-racial group as the pupils, possibly in the same proportion, are sought in many countries, with varying degrees of success (Anwar 1981; Community Relations Commission 1974b; Cross 1978; Canada House of Commons 1980; Orwen 1980; Schools Council 1981). New York City's public educational system and those in other large American cities have made substantial changes in the racial-ethnic composition of teaching, administrative, and support staffs. They also have introduced paraprofessionals drawn from the neighborhood into the schools.

In countries where no modifications are made in the prior qualifications and standard of performance of those individuals entering teacher training and training for other school positions, the process of recruiting minority staff proceeds slowly. Prejudice on the part of school boards (policymakers) in hiring school administrators and of school administrators in hiring teachers needs review. Some doubts have been expressed about the need to have minority-group teachers and staff in schools in which there are only a few minority children (Schools Council 1981). However, experience with authority figures of different racial and ethnic groups is desirable for all children and constitutes one of the most effective ways of modifying prejudicial attitudes acquired at home and in the community (Community Relations Commission 1974b; Orwen 1980).

As significant as introducing minority teachers into the school staff is a change in the training of all staff. Proctor (1982) advocates that preservice vocational education teacher

education requirements should include a course in Black Studies. Preservice and inservice training of vocational education teachers should include such elements as the following:

- Special training in how to deal with racial and ethnic groups
- Introductions to dialect speech (e.g., American blacks, American Indians)
- Foreign language instruction
- Seminars on racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination
- Programs to counter apathy
- Programs on multicultural education
- Instruction in the culture of other societies

Special training in multicultural education linked with the community and higher education institutions has been recommended in Britain (Community Relations Commission 1974b).

At a minimum, administrators and teachers should have enough awareness of cultural differences to enable them to avoid misdiagnosing immigrant and minority youth as educationally or intellectually deficient or developmentally disabled.

Home, Community, and School

Because immigrant and minority parents are sometimes intimidated by schools, they are considerably less likely than the parents of other children to visit schools, to attend scheduled school events, or to participate in parent-teacher associations (Schools Council 1981). Those parents whose religious orthodoxy particularly isolates them from mainstream life are most apt to fear or reject school (Anwar 1981; Ogbu 1978). Among the most important measures that have been proposed or adopted to increase immigrant and minority parental participation in school are the following:

- Holding adult language (and other) classes at school (Cross 1978).
- Communicating with the parents of immigrant or minority students in their native language (Schools Council 1981).
- Sending written reports to parents on their children's academic performance.
- Visiting the homes of immigrant and minority youth to discuss the children's progress and problems and to encourage parental visits to school.
- Appointing cultural liaison teachers to make parents aware of the aims of the schools and to facilitate feedback from parents (ibid).
- Appointing additional staff as home-school liaison officers, using community organization contacts (ibid.). Home-school coordinators, preferably ethnically matched, are needed to mediate family reactions to school practices and effects. Sometimes coordinators are needed to achieve the initial enrollment of minority children (especially

those of temporary workers) whose parents fear the loss of ethnic customs if their children attend school (Community Relations Commission 1974a; Migrant Services and Programs 1978).

- Organizing parent mutual support groups and "educating the parent as educator" (Organization for Economic Cooperation 1981).

- Scheduling additional meetings for parents at various times to make school visits more convenient and accepted.

- Explaining occupational opportunities to minority parents (who appear to be more influential with their children than majority-group parents), and who may block nontraditional choices of minority and immigrant youth, especially females (U.S. Department of Labor 1978).

In addition, relations between schools and community organizations have been fostered by (1) appointing senior teachers to coordinate links between the two; (2) calling on community organizations to participate in local curriculum development; (3) involving community leaders in school activities (e.g., inviting minority employers to visit vocational education classes); and (4) appointing individuals to school committees, including vocational education advisory committees, who represent minority and ethnic groups (Canada House of Commons 1980; Schools Council 1981; St. John Brooks 1981; Wyatt 1978). Community organizations can be instrumental in encouraging individuals to participate in the school, not only as parents, but also as paid staff.

Schools in Winnipeg, Canada, give natives and immigrants—primarily poor, female single parents of low educational achievement—an opportunity to become fully qualified teachers (Canada House of Commons 1980). Attention has been given to ethnic matching of teachers and pupils, SES compatibility, and opportunities for parents to obtain gainful employment, thereby becoming more self-sufficient, improving their self-image, and serving as positive role models. This program serves as an excellent prototype for others to follow.

PREPARATION FOR WORK

Persistent difficulties in preparing young people for work and in effecting the transition from school to work have been observed among youth of the majority culture in this country, especially those youngsters who leave school as early as is legally possible or even before (Reubens 1977, 1981). However, immigrant and minority youth tend to be disproportionately represented among (1) early school-leavers, (2) those youth who fail to complete basic educational requirements, and (3) those youth who lack "job networks." Problems with preparation for work and the transition from school to work are especially prevalent among immigrant and minority youth (Linder and Taggart 1980).

Today many immigrant and minority youth reside in urban centers. They sometimes lack the "drive" of their parents, and they tend to expect equality as citizens. They therefore may not be willing to accept low status work. They might be more willing to accept such jobs as entry-level if they saw themselves as having access to upward mobility through education, on-the-job training and promotion, or investment in small business. However, large numbers of immigrant and minority youth are skeptical that these opportunities are open to them. As immigrant and minority families remain in the low social strata for several generations, skepticism and apathy may increase, despite apparent social reforms.

Programs

Preparation for work, including vocational education, is basically a function of the schools, and a serious attempt to carry out an effective program calls for changes, including additions to regular school operations. Vocational education is a case where institutional sensitivity to the special circumstances and needs of immigrant and minority youth governs the degree of success likely to be achieved in preparing these youth for work. Special training of all teachers and auxiliary staff is required so that they can understand the background and needs of the youth involved, paying particular attention to immigrant and minority youth. They also must acquire knowledge of local labor markets and employers, general employment trends, and the interface of education and employment.

The participation of employers, trade unions, community organizations, and the employment and social services in the planning and execution of programs to prepare youth for employment is important.

Program Elements

Programs to prepare youth for work should give attention to the following elements:

- Relevant basic competencies, behaviors, and attitudes
- Early provision of information on the available educational and training choices and their occupational implications

- General and specific labor market information, including the actual qualifications of those holding given jobs, instead of the ideal qualifications that so often are communicated to youth
- Information about the institutions, laws, benefits and other conditions surrounding work
- Work experience in a variety of forms
- Specific occupational skill training (where appropriate)
- Job-hunting skills, including information on and visits to various types of placement services and employment agencies
- A job placement office on the premises or nearby, preferably linked to a larger employment service network

In response to the recent increase in youth unemployment in many countries, some writers have advocated that part of current preparation-for-work programs must include training and counseling related to the following:

- Coping with unemployment
- Entering government youth programs
- Accepting jobs below expectations
- Engaging in alternate forms of employment through shared jobs
- Self-employment
- Cooperative or community activities (possibly unpaid)
- Using leisure time positively

Basic Skills

For most of the tasks, some special points can be added in regard to immigrant and minority youth, for whom a mastery of basic skills and the ability to communicate with others (including the ability to appear self-assured) are of prime importance in the preparation for work. Employers in most countries view basic skills as more important than specific occupational skills in the entry-level jobs open to those youth who complete no more than compulsory education. Experience-based career education program evaluations have found that basic as well as vocational skills are learned through work experience (National Center for Research in Vocational Education 1981).

Recent research in Britain and the United States also suggests that, for entry-level jobs, employers regard these basic skills as more important than the student's academic record, the number and type of examinations the student passed, or the diploma(s) the student has received. Often the job application process is, itself, a type of test, assessing writing skills never to be used again in certain jobs; nonetheless, inadequacy in filling out a form may be a barrier to employment in those positions. A number of British employers indicate that their willingness to

employ young blacks is frustrated because the teenagers are inarticulate ("Scarman Condemns" 1982). Some immigrant or minority communities believe, however, that a language problem is cited by employers when it is not actually a barrier to doing the job and that references to language only mask racial prejudice (Anwar 1981).

To avoid these problems, it is necessary that every youth reach a language standard approved and certified by the school. Such an objective could become a major and separate aspect of education. Some states in this country have included speaking skills, including job interviewing and telephone skills, as a minimum basic competency for high school graduation.

Occupational Information

Some immigrant and minority youth also require special instruction in the dress, deportment, attitudes, behavior, and rules to be observed both in applying for a job and in working. Differences and similarities can be seen among various groups of low SES immigrant and minority youth in their departures from cultural norms. Thus, the reports on West Indian youth are reminiscent of, but not entirely congruent with, findings for Philadelphia black youth (Anderson 1980).

Immigrant and minority youth are likely to possess (1) less knowledge about occupations, (2) a more restricted view of the occupations potentially open to them, (3) fewer role models employed in a wide range of occupations, and (4) fewer personal contacts to inform them about entering such occupations than youth from the majority culture. (Low SES majority-group youth also are limited in these respects.) In planning career and vocational education, account should be taken of the unfamiliarity, insecurity, and even cultural resistance to occupational information on the part of some minority and immigrant youth.

A basic part of the occupational information system must be a frank acknowledgment of racial and ethnic prejudice in each society and its probable impact on occupational attainment (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee 1981). Open discussions, preferably led by adults of the same ethnic or racial background, may assist young people to reject both excessive pessimism and unwarranted optimism, both of which hamper effective preparation for work. Support for positive measures to counter and end discrimination in employment should be part of a multicultural education.

Sex stereotyping. Female immigrant and minority youth require special counseling. Staff should routinely receive training in the sex desegregation of educational-occupational information and guidance (Verheyden-Hilliard 1975). Many young immigrant and minority females need specialized help with women's issues, such as autonomy, empowerment, independence, and assertion. Many also require extra support to avoid early termination of education or low occupational aspirations to traditionally female jobs. Many materials have been developed in the United States to aid educators and counselors in working with these issues.

It should not be assumed automatically that attitudes toward women taking paid jobs remain unchanged after immigration by individuals to a country in which participation in the labor force by females is higher than that of the country of origin.

Cultural restrictions on females continue to exist in some immigrant and minority groups. Traditional female role expectations and fears of competing with males of the ethnic group are strong among these women (Wallace 1979). Some minority women also hold a political conviction that such competition is harmful to the minority community as a whole. This is a view

held particularly by native minorities who have a history of greater sex equity than that of the majority culture. Further input from minority females is needed in this area to answer the questions, "Will it best serve minority female interests to learn assertion skills or to support home-family roles?" and "Are there ways to do both?" Perhaps Afro-American women provide a model (Allman et al. 1979).

Unrealistic aspirations. Those individuals who offer educational information and guidance in relation to occupational choices must deal with the tendency of some immigrant and minority groups to have high educational and occupational aspirations compared to those of other youth and in relation to the nation's educational and occupational structure. Parents are often responsible for the unrealistically high aspirations of their children (Anwar 1981). In some nations, schools have been responsible for conveying unrealistic expectations and goals to pupils of low SES from all races and ethnic groups, leading to later disillusionment and frustration (Maizels 1970). For immgrant and immigrant youth this constitutes an additional stress.

Equally, counselors or advisors need to encourage some immigrant and minority youth, especially females, to raise their educational and occupational aspirations, perhaps interceding with parents to forego the immediate wage contribution of the youth in favor of longer-run returns.

Work Experience

Work experience, whether it consists of periods of observation, brief assignments to particular jobs, experience-based career education (EBCE) or a formal work-study program, such as cooperative vocational education programs, is generally considered a valuable aspect of secondary education. To be fully effective, work experience programs should provide a broad view of the labor market and working life, beyond the context of one site or occupation (Organization for Economic Cooperation 1981). Work experience can be particularly effective in introducing students to the latest technology.

Because of their limited social contacts and lack of knowledge about a variety of jobs, immigrant and minority youth need exposure to the world of work while they are enrolled in secondary school. Work experience programs should be made available to them. Through such programs employers become acquainted with a variety of young people from diverse backgrounds whom they might otherwise reject as potential employees (Schilit and Lacey 1982). A combination of work experience programs and the introduction of students to suitable role models has been found to be particularly effective in helping immigrant and minority youth make the transition from school to work in several programs (Hecht 1970; Opportunities Industrialization 1981).

On-the-Job Training

On-the-job training and apprenticeship programs should be made accessible to immigrant and minority youth by reducing sex, race, and cultural stereotyping (U.S. Department of Labor 1977). Without deliberate national policy to ensure access, apprenticeships have been relatively inaccessible to immigrant and minority youth (and all females) in most countries (Reubens, Harrisson, and Rupp 1981). Unfortunately, an insufficient number of jobs exist during a period of economic downturn to provide opportunities for everyone.

"Second Chance" programs

Whereas the schools are the primary site of preparation for work for immigrant and minority youth, alternative provisions are required for groups for whom schools may be inappropriate or unavailable. Among these groups are immigrant youth who arrive in the host country at an age close to or above that for which school is compulsory, generally have had an inadequate education in their native land, and do not speak the primary language of the host country. Special facilities and classes are required to orient these youth, begin their education, and prepare them for work.

Those students who are expelled from regular schools or who drop out before receiving a diploma are a second client group to be served by special programs. These youth are disproportionately Hispanic and black in the United States and black West Indian in Britain (Carter and Segura 1979; Cottle 1976; Mack 1977). These youth, along with unmarried school girls who become pregnant (disproportionately black in the United States and Britain and native Indian in Canada) are best served by "second chance" programs, with a heavy emphasis on the preparation for work and specific occupational skills (Almquist 1979; National Commission for Employment Policy 1979; Auletta 1981; Canada House of Commons 1980).

Immigrant and minority youth are involved with the criminal justice system and sentenced to prison terms in disproportionately high numbers relative to their representation in the population (Forer 1970; Canada House of Commons 1980; Kovacs 1978). Both during their stay in the correctional institutions and immediately after their release, these youth need remedial education classes and occupational skill training programs.

Given the age and circumstances of these young people, they can benefit particularly from programs that combine education, training, and work. Full-time education, especially in the schools with which some youth associate failure, may be unattractive or financially difficult for most of these youth. Second chance education and training opportunities that are based on paid employment may have a better chance of attracting this group than educational programs alone and are more likely to benefit both the individuals concerned and the human resource base of the nation.

Preemployment work preparation and skill training are important services for many out-of-school, unemployed immigrant and minority youth. Such programs should be skill based and should build on shared group values (Gordon 1969). The best strategies to use with the least motivated youth include explicit training in work-related skills and attitudes, and individualized "Employability Development Plans" (Opportunities Industrialization 1981; Robinson and Parker 1981).

Still other methods are needed to reach underclass immigrant and minority youth—that is, those who fail at or reject the educational and training opportunities offered to out-of-school youth. The type of sheltered work program provided for special needs populations in the United States is an appropriate model. A residential program, such as the U.S. Job Corps provides, is another alternative (Proctor 1982). Guaranteed job placements after successful conclusion of such programs are an important ingredient, since repeated failures tend to reduce already low self-esteem and increase dependency (Auletta 1981).

Immigrant and minority youth have become discouraged, apathetic, or rebellious as their search for employment has proved fruitless, aggravating their lack of a sense of identity. In response to youth unemployment, the Principal Careers Officer for Inner London reports that careers officers have (1) urged positive attitudes on both black and white youth, (2) shown them

that there are jobs available, (3) pointed to long-term training and education strategies, and (4) tried to fight apathy. The extent of the effectiveness of this counseling is not clear. Other programs involve special programs for unemployed youth.

Some immigrant and minority youth work for private enterprises operated by members of their group. This is a particularly important opportunity for unacculturated immigrant youth who do not speak English. Such youth, however, do not have opportunities to learn about the majority culture. This tends to lead to their being trapped in a ghetto. Local cooperative organizations also have an appeal, especially for unacculturated rural native minority youth.

In every society it is clear that some youth will fail to obtain the necessary basic education and preparation for work while they are at school, no matter how much these programs are improved. Second chance and remedial efforts are therefore of prime importance, as a supplement to basic programs that take full account of the number and type of jobs available to immigrant and minority youth.

Employment Services

In some countries, immigrant and minority youth rely on the public employment services to a greater extent than other youth. Such agencies, therefore, need sensitivity to the interaction between culture and personality in occupational choice (Finnan 1980). Poor work adjustment for minority youth may result from job placements in which the youth's culture is stereotyped or ignored, or the relative degree of acculturation is overlooked, especially for females struggling with conflicts between old and new ideas about sex roles.

Some immigrant and minority youth are apprehensive about approaching employers, traveling to other parts of a city they have never seen, or facing rejection. An escort service, such as a British agency provides to out-of-school youth, is a desirable, although expensive, service for in-school youth. Visits to the public employment service supplemented by visits to places of employment for simulated job interviews is a useful strategy for helping students overcome apprehension. Job-hunting clinics are helpful also.

The education of employers as to the qualities, capacities, needs, and limitations of the various immigrant and minority youth groups is a vital function of employment services and other agencies. Without employer willingness to hire immigrant and minority youth, the best programs to improve the transition from school to work are to no avail. Programs for schools with high minority concentrations involving school-industry cooperation have proved successful in raising employer awareness of the needs of these youth (Newburg 1981; Schilit and Lacey 1982). Such programs should be expanded.

Program Staff

All staff in work preparation programs, including vocational education, transition services and employment services, and all programs that assist immigrant and minority youth, should include a reasonable representation of the immigrant and minority composition of the groups. In the United States, the failure of work preparation programs has been attributed to the use of either majority-group or "assimilated" minority counselors to aid low SES minority youth. It is crucial to guard against requiring middle-class behavior that is not directly related to employability of immigrant and minority youth. In some cases, the ethnic organizations already

providing work preparation or transition services could be enlisted to operate parts of the more general effort, with public financial support.

Work preparation programs can use some of the same techniques as minority community groups, including peer interaction, intervention with client families, and a general orientation that favors the client:

> Wherever possible and just, counselors should attempt to change environmental pressures on their clients, rather than attempt to make the client responsible for changing himself and his reactions to hostile and damaging forces. (Gordon 1969, pp. 202-203)

In a multitude of programs the absence of these characteristics was found to be the cause of the limited success in programs serving minority youth. Counselors in work preparation programs must be trained to provide individualized services to clients according to gender, class, personal history, and other intraethnic group variables. Inservice education programs must continually guard against middle-class cultural biases (ibid.). In preparing immigrant and minority youth for work, counselors must be particularly sensitive to the degree to which these young people are attempting to differentiate themselves from home and community, as well as the areas of minority culture that they are attempting to retain.

Job training instructors and counselors must be sensitive to immigrant and minority youth motivational systems while maintaining positive expectations for the young people. Youth who observe older relatives and others of the ethnic group barred from "good" jobs and upward mobility become less motivated to undergo training (Cross 1978; Ogbu 1978). Many programs do not allow for these deep-seated feelings, and staff become impatient, especially with first generation immigrant youth.

Summary

The preceding discussion of the needs of immigrant and minority youth is summarized in the points that follow:

- State-school aid formulas that provide funding to equalize the wealth among school districts are needed to provide equal educational opportunity for all youth.
- Racially integrated schools (relative to the percentage of minority groups in the population) are needed to provide equal educational opportunity for all youth.
- Multicultural education is needed in all educational systems, but especially in schools where immigrant and minority youth are enrolled.
- Alternative instructional methodologies are needed to meet the unique learning style needs of all youth. These alternatives are especially important for immigrant and minority youth.
- Special programs are needed to prepare immigrant and minority youth to be teachers.
- Preschool programs are needed for immigrant and minority children.
- High quality vocational education programs are needed for all youth but are especially important for immigrant and minority youth.

- Programs are needed to involve immigrant and minority community organizations in efforts by schools and employment and training programs to meet the needs of immigrant and minority youth.
- Programs are needed to involve employers in cooperative vocational education for immigrant and minority youth.
- Bilingual vocational education programs are needed for immigrant and minority youth.
- Employment and training programs are needed for the young immigrant and minority females who are single parents.
- Programs to reduce the stereotyping of individuals according to prescribed sex roles are needed in all educational and social agencies for both staff and students. Programs related to reducing the stereotyping of occupations by sex are especially important.
- Work experience programs are needed for immigrant and minority youth.
- "Second chance" or sheltered work programs are needed for out-of-school immigrant and minority youth.
- Employment programs are needed to prepare immigrant and minority youth for job seeking.
- Tests that are free of culture and language biases are needed for diagnosing the educational needs of immigrant and minority youth. Special placements of these youth made the basis of tests need careful monitoring.
- Programs are needed to prepare immigrant and minority youth to apply and test for vocational education programs, apprentice programs, and professional training programs. These youth need assistance in preparing for and taking all types of tests.
- Affirmative action programs are needed to equalize employment opportunities for all youth, but especially for immigrant and minority youth.
- Staff who work with immigrant and minority youth need training relative to the effects of staff expectations on student achievement (as do all staff in educational and social agencies).
- Staff drawn from the same racial, cultural, and/or ethnic groups as students are needed to work with immigrant and minority youth. Positive role models of both sexes are especially important for immigrant and minority youth.
- Staff who work with immigrant and minority youth need training in language dialects and foreign languages.
- Program staff need to be trained to deal with the tendency of immigrant and minority youth to have unrealistic occupational aspirations (high or low).

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